

The Shadow of the "Sick Man" Again Falls Upon Europe

Turkey Adds to Troubles of Politicians in World Parleys

Policies of Great Britain and France Conflict in Near East, While Internal Strife of Muslims Complicates Difficulties

By Leo Pasvolksy

THE undisputed antagonism between the British and the French which quite unexpectedly became one of the most spectacular features of the Washington conference, has not been born of any difference of opinion or prejudice by the conference itself. It is the echo of events which have been unfolding themselves behind the diplomatic scenes of Europe herself. And, curiously enough, one of the principal reasons for this latest outbreak of animosity between the two great powers which face each other across the narrow English Channel is concerned with that most fertile of all the sources of international complications in Europe—Turkey.

The strange nation which has been for many ages in possession of the Bosphorus, the keystone of inter-European politics, has been known for generations past as the "Sick Man of Europe." Turkey has long degenerated as a state, and yet she has been left in continual control of one of the most important points on the whole Continent, kept there by the dissensions and wranglings among the powers which have formed and reformed what has been known as the Concert of Europe. The configurations of this concert have undergone many and various changes, but through all these changes Turkey remained where she was. Shorn of part of her power, of much of her territory, she had been reduced from a great empire that had swept the Rome of Constantine out of existence to the ominous role of the "Sick Man of Europe." Time and again it seemed that the "Sick Man" was near the end, and yet that end would never come.

The World War came closest, it seemed in 1919, to bringing about this long-deferred end. Only a mere shadow of Turkey remained when the smoke of the four years' stupendous conflict began to clear away. Yet to-day, on the threshold of 1922, the "Sick Man" looms up again as the center of a new discord among the great powers of Europe, while his shadow, suddenly grown to huge proportions, has fallen—across a continent and an ocean—upon the conference table in the capital of the new world.

Treaty of Sevres Was Price Turkey Paid

The Treaty of Sevres, signed in 1920, was the price which Turkey paid for choosing a wrong alliance during the World War. For months after the war had begun, the leaders of the Turkish government hesitated between the two sides in the conflict, neutrality being manifestly impossible. Finally, the German gold, which had flowed so freely into the coffers of the Turkish leaders, won the day, and Turkey declared against the Allies. By the end of the war, the leaders who had made this decision had already fled, and the "Sick Man of Europe" faced the day of reckoning.

The Treaty of Sevres virtually pushed the Turks out of Europe—back into Asia, whence they had come, strong and vigorous, to capture Constantinople forty years before Columbus discovered America. Only the City of Constantinople and a small territory along the Bosphorus and the Sea of Marmara were left to the Turks in Europe. Their Balkan territory went to the Greeks.

And in Asia, too, Turkey lost much of her territory by the Treaty of Sevres. Turkish Armenia was taken from her. Syria, Cilicia, Palestine, Mesopotamia, and the other lands lying between the Eastern shores of the Mediterranean and the shores of the Red Sea became mandatory colonies of France and Great Britain. Italy obtained a foothold in the southern part of Asia Minor.

The Sultan and his government still remained in Constantinople. But his power became almost nominal. An inter-Allied commission, consisting of British, French and Italian representatives, was created for the administration of the territory of the Straits. Similarly, practically all the important administrative functions fell into the hands of the Allies.

The government of the Sultan found itself forced to submit to the Allied terms, principally because it was utterly powerless to resist them. But almost immediately after the provisions of the treaty became known, a movement began in the interior of Asia Minor, which had for its object the abrogation of the arrangements which the Sultan had made with the Allies. In the latter part of 1919 a congress of the cities and organizations of the Province of Anatolia met in the City of Izmir and resolved to continue the war against the Allies. A prominent figure at this congress was Mustafa Kemal, one of the leaders of the movement against the Treaty of Sevres, and when the decision was taken to continue the war, Kemal was appointed commander-in-chief of the Turkish troops in eastern Anatolia.

The Izmir congress marked the beginning of the Nationalist movement in the interior of Turkey. Soon after this congress, another congress held place in the City of Sivas. Here a much larger area and much broader interests were represented. It was decided to form a national Turkish government, which, for the time being, would be in opposition to both the Allies and to the government in Constantinople, the latter being accused of having sold out Turkey's national interests by agreeing to the Treaty of Sevres.

The new government consists of a parliament, known as the Great Na-

tional Assembly of Turkey, and a cabinet of ministers. Mustafa Kemal, if he is still alive, is the head of the government. Several days ago dispatches from Constantinople reported the assassination of Kemal. The report, however, has not been corroborated, and seems to be merely an unfounded rumor.

Kemal is comparatively young, being forty-three years of age, a man of great energy and will-power, imbued with a fierce nationalism. He is not of aristocratic birth, but the son of a guard in the administration of the Tobacco Department. He has had, however, a good military training and is very popular, especially among the smaller landlords. The city of Angora was chosen as the seat of the new government and Mustafa Kemal proceeded to organize it.

Soviet Government First To Recognize Kemal Regime

The first cognizance of the Kemal movement was taken by the Soviet government of Moscow and its various agencies operating in the Near East. Early in 1920 negotiations were begun between Moscow and Angora, and these negotiations proceeded rather successfully for several months.

It happened that the communist movement in Russia and the nationalist movement in Anatolia found a common ground for at least temporary cooperation. As a matter of fact, there is nothing in common between the two movements; on the contrary, they are by their very nature antagonistic to each other. But the end of 1919 and the beginning of 1920 was the period when the Russian communists were particularly active in their operations directed toward the organization of a world revolution. The plans of operations called for an attack in two directions, viz., in Western Europe and in the Orient, particularly in the Near East. The Third Internationale, created in Moscow in 1919, was charged with the carrying out of these plans, and was very busy in the Near East.

In the late summer of 1920, immediately following the second world congress of the Third Internationale, a conference was organized at Baku, the important seaport in the Russian Caucasus, by the executive committee of the Internationale. The object of this conference was to co-ordinate with the Communist forces operating in the Near East, and an important part of the discussion at Baku was devoted to the Kemal movement in Turkey, the representatives of which occupied places of honor at the conference.

Zinoviev Praises Kemal as Leader of Islamic Movement

In the keynote speech of the conference Gregory Zinoviev, the president of the executive committee of the Third Internationale, who was the honorary president of the Baku conference, explained at great length why the Communists in Moscow were so eager and willing to support Kemal. He described the Kemal movement as a nationalistic movement of the Anatolian peasantry. He pointed out that Mustafa Kemal is far from being a Communist, or even a sympathizer with the Communist cause. On the contrary, he described the head of the Angora government as a monarchist, who is more over the head of an essentially religious movement. For, as Zinoviev quite correctly pointed out, Kemal's object is not the overthrow of the Sultan and the establishment in Turkey of a soviet republic, but the liberation of the Sultan from foreign control, imposed by the Treaty of Sevres, and the reinstating of the Turkish monarch as the religious head of the Moslem world. In short, Kemal was painted to the Baku conference as the guiding light of a new pan-Islamic movement.

But Kemal's pan-Islamism, i. e., his attempt to reunite the important parts of the Islamic world under the Turkish Sultan as the religious head, has for its enemies the Allied powers, particularly Great Britain, for both before and after the Treaty of Sevres Great Britain has played a role of predominance in the Mahometan East. To the extent, then, to which Turkish nationalism and pan-Islamism necessitated as inevitable a struggle against the Allied nations, particularly Great Britain, Kemal's immediate aims coincided with those of the Communist leaders in Moscow. For the Moscow strategy of the world revolution at that time was to strike at the countries of western Europe directly, by means of agitation and propaganda among their racial groups, and also indirectly by attacking their colonial possessions. So the various nationalist movements in the Orient have enjoyed the support of Moscow, for they have been expected to "break the backbone" of west European imperialism by disorganizing the colonial empires of the Allied powers. The Kemal movement in Anatolia fitted admirably into this scheme.

By November, 1920, diplomatic relations were established between Moscow and Angora, but Kemal proved to be a more difficult person to handle than the Moscow leaders apparently thought at the beginning. He quite realized that Moscow simply wanted to make a cat's paw of him to be used against the Allies, and, while accepting Moscow's aid, formulated his plans to suit himself.

No sooner were diplomatic relations established between Moscow and Angora than a series of events occurred in Transcaucasia which were far from being to Moscow's liking. A plan was worked out in Moscow whereby Armenia was to be united into a Soviet republic, and a Soviet Armenian govern-

Scene of the "Sick Man's" Activities and One of the Leaders



Photo © KEYSTONE

ment was actually organized, in spite of the fact that a non-Soviet government was still in existence. The Angora Turks, without paying the slightest attention to these plans of Moscow, served an ultimatum on the non-Soviet

government of Armenia, used the fact of non-compliance with this ultimatum as the cause of war and opened hostilities against the Armenians. On December 2 the Kemal government signed a treaty with the Armenians in Alex-

andropolis, whereby Turkish domination was practically re-established in Armenia. During the same period the Turks marched into Georgian territory and occupied the district of Batoum, including the city of that name, which is

the most important Caucasus port on the Black Sea.

By the beginning of 1921 the Allies, too, began to take cognizance of the Kemal movement. While the Soviet government opened negotiations with Angora regarding the events of the preceding months, the Angora government also entered into negotiations with the Allies. By the beginning of March both of these two series of negotiations were completed.

In London, where the negotiations with the Allies were carried on, the representatives of both the Sultan's government and of the Kemal movement demanded the abrogation of the Treaty of Sevres, without any success. The Turkish delegation, headed by Bekir-Sami-Bey, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, did succeed, however, in entering into an agreement with

French Treaty With Kemalists Is Chief Bone of Contention

Under Agreement Reached at Angora, France Virtually Gives Up Mandate of Cilicia-Bolsheviks Involved in Support of Nationalists

France and with Italy regarding the evacuation by the troops of these two powers of Cilicia and the Italian zone in the southern part of Asia Minor in exchange for valuable concessions on the part of Turkey.

The negotiations with Soviet Russia were conducted by Yussuf Kemal Bey, who arrived in Moscow on February 2. By March 15 the negotiations were completed and a Russo-Turkish treaty was signed.

When the two delegations returned to Angora the Great National Assembly of Turkey ratified the Russo-Turkish pact and refused to ratify the Franco-Turkish and the Italo-Turkish agreements. This action on the part of the Great National Assembly led to the resignation of Bekir-Sami-Bey as Minister of Foreign Affairs, and his place later on was taken by Yussuf Kemal Bey, head of the delegation to Moscow.

The important provisions of the Russo-Turkish treaty dealt with questions of territorial adjustment. The district and the city of Batoum were evacuated by the Turks and returned to Georgia, on condition that the district be given administrative autonomy and that the rights of the Turkish inhabitants, who are very numerous in the district, be entirely safeguarded. Turkey was given the right of free transit facilities from the Turkish boundary to the port and also free use of the port itself. At the same time the district of Kars, Ardagan and Artavia, which had been formerly included in the boundaries of the Russian Empire, were given to the Turks.

Provisions were also made in the treaty that at some future date a special conference would take place between the representatives of the Angora government and of the autonomous governments of Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan to settle special questions relating to these territories. Such a conference met in Kars at the end of September, and on October 13 a treaty was signed regulating the questions in dispute.

Soviet Chiefs Strengthen Hand of Mustafa Kemal

The result of all these arrangements with the Soviet masters of Russia has been that, so far as the northeastern part of Turkey is concerned, the Angoran government controls an actually greater territory than had been controlled by the Constantinople government since the last Russo-Turkish war, i. e., for the last four decades. Turkey has reacquired the important port of Trapezond and the powerful fortress of Kars, the loss of which had always been very irritating to Turkey. As far as this portion of his territorial body is concerned, the "Sick Man of Europe" seems to be doing quite well under the beneficent blessing of Soviet Moscow.

But the really important achievements of the Angora government have been in the south and west. The success of the March negotiations in London, though annulled by the refusal of the Great National Assembly to ratify the agreements signed there, nevertheless opened the way for further negotiations. But before these negotiations materialized into any agreement another war broke out in Asia Minor—the war between Anatolia and Greece.

The Treaty of Sevres, besides giving Greece most of Turkey, a possession in Europe, also gave her a footing on Asia Minor by placing her in possession of the port and the district of Smyrna. In the summer of 1921 a war broke out between Greece and Anatolia. At first the Greeks were very successful and their troops had nearly reached Angora, the capital of the Kemal government. But within a short distance of the capital the Turks rallied their forces and defeated the Greeks. The war is still going on.

In the meantime the French resumed their negotiations with the Kemal government and on November 1, 1921, the semi-official Paris "Temps" published the text of a treaty, signed in Angora on October 20, by M. Henri Franklin-Bouillon, acting on behalf of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Yussuf Kemal Bey, the Anatolian Minister of Foreign Affairs. This treaty, announced by the French after its ratification by the Great National Assembly of Turkey, came as a complete surprise and aroused an outburst of indignation in England. The speech delivered by Earl Curzon, the British Minister of Foreign Affairs, ten days after the opening of the Washington conference, in which he openly accused France of playing unfairly with her Allies, was the first official expression of this British resentment. And what has happened in Washington has been a very strong repudiation of these events.

France-Turkish Treaty Gives Back Part of Cilicia

The Franco-Turkish treaty contained two provisions which are considered of outstanding importance. In the first place, a part of Cilicia, over which France was made a trustee under a mandate arrangement, has been handed over to Turkey by France, without any consultation with the League of Nations, which controls the mandates. Thus, the southern boundary of Turkey has been moved down somewhat by comparison with the boundary provided by the Treaty of Sevres. The special importance of this, however, lies in the fact that in this manner Turkey has acquired control of a very important section of the Bagdad Railroad, has moved her boundary directly to Mesopotamia, and has been given

transit rights over other sections of the Bagdad Railroad laid through Syrian territory. In exchange for this France has acquired the right to some very important railroad concessions, including the exploitation of the section of the road returned to Turkey, and also has an opportunity now to withdraw large numbers of her troops from Cilicia. It is estimated that the French forces in the mandated territory can now be reduced by no less than 50,000 men.

It was, however, not so much in the treaty itself that lay the specially important points of the agreement as in an explanatory note, which was handed to M. Franklin-Bouillon by Yussuf Kemal Bey on the same day that the treaty was signed. In this note the Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs expressed his earnest hope that since friendly relations have been re-established between Turkey and France the latter would do everything in her power to aid in the proper solution of all questions relating to Turkey's independence and national sovereignty. The allusion here, which is but thinly veiled, is to Angora's persistent efforts for the abrogation or at least a material revision of the Treaty of Sevres. And as an accompaniment of this newly established friendship the Turkish government expresses not only its desire, but also its eagerness that close economic relations be established between Turkey and France. The note continues as follows:

"The government of the Great National Assembly, desirous of promoting economic relations between the two countries, authorizes me to inform you that it is willing to grant a concession for the exploitation of iron, chrome and silver mines in the Harich valley, for the period of ninety-nine years, to a French group, which, within five years after the signing of this agreement, would organize the exploitation of the said concession by a corporation formed under the Turkish law in which Turkish capital would participate to the extent of 50 per cent."

The French government is also informed that the government of Turkey would be disposed most favorably to considering other requests for concessions, involving railroads, waterways, mines, etc., as well as to inviting the collaboration of French specialists. The note ends with an expression of hope that the French government would immediately authorize French capitalists to enter into economic and financial relations with the government of the Great National Assembly.

The announcement of the Franco-Turkish accord immediately led to the inauguration of similar negotiations with Angora on the part of Great Britain and Italy. But all these negotiations caused also something of a stir in Moscow. A month after the signing of the Franco-Turkish treaty the Turkish Ambassador in Moscow presented to Tchitcherine a note in which, after informing the Soviet government officially of the signing of the treaty, he stated:

"My government directs me to inform the government of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic that the above-named agreement does not contain a single thesis or a single point which may in any manner weaken or conflict with the spirit or the letter of the Russo-Turkish agreement of friendship signed in Moscow. My government adds that neither the Franco-Turkish treaty, nor any other agreement which it may conclude, will ever be of such character as to impair the political amity and friendship, the foundation for which was laid by the Russian and Turkish peoples and their governments by the Moscow and Kars treaties."

How far these assurances will satisfy the Soviet government remains to be seen. The present relations between Moscow and Angora, i. e., the real relations, and not their outward manifestations represented by the official agreements, are too complicated to be gone into in the present connection. They may well form the subject of a special study. But in the mean time, the important fact is that to-day Turkey is in a much better international situation than she has been for the last five years. And her outlook for the future is still better, for once more in her peculiar history, she is the object of conflicts among other nations, by which she profits most.

The question of a very material revision of the Treaty of Sevres, made inevitable by the French diplomatic maneuver, is to be one of the principal topics of discussion between Great Britain and France through the next few weeks. The fall of Briand is not likely to change matters in this regard, since his successor, Poincaré, appears to be quite in agreement, on all essential points, with the former French Premier's policy in the Near East. Speculations are current as to how far the revision will go, some observers declaring that it may bring about the withdrawal of Greece from Smyrna and even a possible return of Turkey to Europe.

The "Sick Man of Europe" seems to have an amazing vitality and, apparently, still more marvelous luck.

When the Left Is Right

It will be remembered that, during the war Mlle. Isadora Duncan, in Athens, danced the "Marsellaise" before the windows of Mr. Venizelos. The other day she danced in Moscow the "Internationale" before the windows of Lenin.

The lack of consistency astonished a friend of Raymond Duncan, the dancer's brother, and he spoke to him about it.

"Why," said the unappreciative brother, "Isadora's right foot never knows what the left foot dances!"

Echoes from Abroad

Dreams of "Der Tag"
THE GERMANS try to forget their defeat in anticipation of coming victory. Thus Major Solf, an artilleryist in retirement, has just told in what way France is to be crushed in 1934. This forecast of revenge is in a novel entitled "German Resurrection." In it is told how mysterious military societies were formed all over Germany, how extraordinary rays blow up the English ships at a distance of twenty-five kilometers; and how a gun, everywhere sold as a toy, becomes deadly by a trifling adjustment.

It is the great secret association, the "Club of the Inoffensives," that conducts the affair. All Germany rises at the first signal, and, in less time than it takes to write it down, unhappy France is shattered.

Communistic Crocuses
The German communistic delegate Hoffmann, who already owned a villa, has now bought a manor in which he intends to spend his leisure hours; attend to his literary pursuits. This has put his friends out of humor and his adversaries make ironical remarks in the newspapers.

But if Herr Hoffmann bought himself a manor he is doing so only remains in a tradition as old as time; for so long as there have been communistic leaders there have been owners of manors or millionaires or something distinguished.

This rule began with the Gracchi, who belonged to the highest nobility; and was continued in Ferdinand Lassalle, the cavalier, who died an unpolite death in a duel; and appears to

day in the marble villa at Nice, where M. Marcel Sembat, the leader of French socialism, looks dreamingly on the blue Mediterranean.

Only Karl Marx was really poor, and yet even he was a monarch. "How often," says Victor Aubertin in the "Berliner Tageblatt," "did I not meet in Geneva Mr. Albert Thomas in a long, gray auto which he was driving to his princely office, located in the sea-hills, in the midst of the luxury of elder gardens and near the chateau of Lord Rothschild! And every time I met Mr. Thomas I very politely took off my hat, and did not begrudge him his fortune, because I revere in him a kind and clever man. And always I understood that Mr. Thomas would probably not be so kind and clever if he did not possess this gray limousine and did not draw an income of several thousand Swiss francs a month. Need and intelligence will agree with one another."

"The man who with his genius is to lead the masses requires a quiet, well-cared for study, and it entitled to it; noble pictures on the wall, a basin with gold fish which inspire him to thoughtfulness, and a box of good cigars near the inkstand. If he has not got this he cannot work for those who have not yet got it."

Pilfering in Soviet Russia

Kalmin, president of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, has again demanded that the pilfering of goods transported by rail should be stopped and has announced his intention of adopting the sternest measures of punishment for all culprits. A good illustration of the situation on the

railways is given by an article in the "Trud."

"A consignment, consisting of 19,230 arshins of cotton goods," says the newspaper, "was shipped in July to Penza, and on its arrival there it was discovered that 1,715 arshins had been stolen on the way. Another consignment of 22,270 arshins was found to be 3,000 arshins short."

"What happens with shipments of foodstuffs goes without saying. The cars are set on fire and are then pilfered. The presence of armed guards on such cars does not always help, as they are often murdered during the night."

Fasting for Health
A secret for the preservation of good health is claimed to have been discovered by the English physician Dr. Leonard Williams, who writes about it in "The Lancet." He has observed in the case of himself and numerous patients that a fast of a few days strengthened the body against all kinds of diseases and kept all of them youthful, fresh and elastic. Dr. Williams prescribes a three-day fast with no food of any kind and only water to drink. Those who submit to this treatment feel on the first day, craving; the second, resignation; the third, rejoicing and rejuvenation.

The rationale of its beneficence, according to Dr. Williams, is probably as follows: In the ordinary routine of town life we do not completely oxidize all that is taken into the body. There remains a residue, which is only partially oxidized. These "sub-oxidized," as he calls them, are mildly but cumulatively toxic and give rise to many

of the minor maladies and discomforts of everyday life. In the process of fasting these sub-oxidized, which are relatively insoluble, become thoroughly oxidized and thus fitted for normal and easy excretion.

Old-Time Automobiles

One hundred years ago, or more exactly, on December 8, 1821, the "Journal des Débats" published the following item:

"There is now much talk in Milan of an invention for which the author, a certain Cataneo, has just got a license from the Emperor of Austria. Several times already they have tried in England and France to make a carriage move without horses, but every time it was observed that the mechanism gave rise to insuperable difficulties. Mr. Cataneo not only dispenses with the team, but by means of his mechanism one single horse keeps up and accelerates the movement to a point at which he does easily the work of four horses."

An Original Tax

With deficits everywhere and the budget full of holes, all kinds of taxation measures are proposed in Europe. One which is considered in Germany would consist in simply taxing stout people. Whoever among the men of seventeen to seventy-six years of age has a torso exceeding the fair average will be subject to a tax of from 300 to 1,000 marks.

It is to be paid once only. But suppose after having paid the tax one grows thin! Will the state pay back the tax unduly received?